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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE:

EASTERN TERRITORIES INCORPORATED IN THE REICH

Description

This study deals with German military government, and with the German civil administration analogous to military government, over the Polish territories incorporated in the Reich, policy in which was determined by the non-German character of these territories and by the aim of Germanizing them.

12 February 1945

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This study is Part Three, Section Five, II, of the series

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

the outline of which is as follows:

Part One. Principles and Methods of German Military Government over Europe

Part Two. German Controls in Occupied Europe

I. The German Army in Occupied Europe
II. The SS and Police in Occupied Europe
III. Military and Police Tribunals in Occupied Europe
IV. The Nazi Party in Occupied Europe
V. Technical and Economic Troops in Occupied Europe
VI. Economic and Financial Controls in Occupied Europe
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Part Three. The German Occupation of Individual Regions

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I. Belgium
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EASTERN TERRITORIES INCORPORATED IN THE REICH

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II. EASTERN TERRITORIES INCORPORATED IN THE REICH

A. THE INCORPORATION OF POLISH TERRITORY IN THE REICH

1. Introduction

The incorporation in the Reich of that westernmost third of Poland with which the present study deals constituted a unilateral revision by the Nazis of the clauses in the Treaty of Versailles which had deprived Germany of some 46,000 square kilometers of territory along its eastern frontier. The revision went beyond a mere restoration, however, of the territory lost in 1919-22. In fact, the Nazis took into the Reich in 1939-41 a Polish area more than twice as large as that which Germany had lost to the new Poland through the Versailles settlement.1/ Thus, going beyond the pre-1914 German frontiers in Poznan and Upper Silesia, they added the important textile center of Lodz and the rich coal basin of Dabrowa, as well as extensive agricultural districts lying around them by which Germany's food-producing area was also markedly increased. Since demography supplied no excuse for going beyond the pre-Versailles frontiers, the Nazis justified the transgression as the means of obtaining farm land for future colonization by an expanding German

1/ The former ownership of the Polish territories incorporated in the Reich in 1939-41 was as follows:

Wojewodztwo[a] or part thereof	Portion belonging to Germany before 1914	Portion belonging to Austria or Russia before 1914
	Sq. km.	Sq. km.
Silesia	3,203.6	1,011.0
Kraków	-------	2,767.6
Kielce	-------	2,800.8
Poznan	21,772.0	6,317.0
Lodz	-------	8,943.5
Warsaw	842.0	14,786.1
Pomorze	20,323.2	5,326.2
Bialystok	-------	33,950.6
Total	46,140.8	75,902.8

a. The largest administrative division of Poland.

population.

The Polish territories incorporated in the Reich embraced some 122,000 square kilometers with a pre-war population of eleven millions, out of former Poland's total area of 390,000 square kilometers and a total population of thirty-five millions. They included the following Polish administrative districts:

Wojewodztwo or part thereof	Area (sq.km.)	Population
Silesia (Slask) 1/	4,214.6	1,295,000 2/
Krakow	2,767.6	500,000 3/
Kielce	2,800.8	700,000 3/
Poznan	28,089.0	2,312,686 3/
Lodz	8,943.5	1,716,573 4/
Warsaw	15,628.1	1,108,661 4/
Pomorze	25,649.4	1,937,186 4/
Bialystok 5/	33,950.6	1,600,000 6/

The area included the principal coal deposits, the larger part of the heavy industry, and some of the best agricultural lands of Poland. From many points of view these regions have suffered the most radical occupation policy of all the Polish territories. Notwithstanding their predominantly Polish population they became an integral part of the Reich for more than five years, during which time they were subjected to a vigorous policy of "Germanization," limited only by the requirements of total war. Because of the difficulty of accomplishing this policy and of assimilating to the Reich such extensive non-German territories, the German administration was introduced in a form which varied in some particulars from the Reich model and which involved certain special administrative agencies established for a transition period. Hence the Polish territories thus annexed form, for the purpose of administrative study, a distinct region, which in Nazi administrative law was known by the term "Incorporated

1/ Exclusive of the Trans-Olsa district.
2/ Polish general census of 1931.
3/ Estimate based on Polish general census of 1931.
4/ German police census of December 1939 (Wirtschaft und Statistik, December, 1940, p. 536).
5/ Including small portions of adjoining wojewodztwa.
6/ Estimate from the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 9 April 1943.

Eastern Territories" (Eingegliederte Ostgebiete).

2. Military Government: 1 September - 25 October 1939

Large tracts of Western Poland came under German control at the very beginning of the invasion, and the bulk of those territories eventually incorporated into the Reich were in German hands by the end of the second week. On 1 September 1939 the Supreme Army Command issued a proclamation to the Polish population, warning them to remain at work and to obey the German military authorities. During the next fortnight the territory conquered thus far was marked out in four military districts, each under an army commander (Militärbefehlshaber). Headquarters were at Danzig, Poznan, Lodz, and Krakow. Until midnight of 25 October the executive authority over these four districts was exercised by these commanders. Their attention, however, was confined largely to military matters affecting their districts, whereas civil affairs were administered by Nazi Party leaders. For these latter purposes a leading Nazi was attached as a civil affairs executive (Chef der Zivilverwaltung) to the headquarters of each of the military districts. In two instances (Forster at Danzig, Greiser at Poznan) the civil affairs executive later, on 26 October, became the permanent civil administrator of the district.

The course of events in Danzig and Pomorze illustrates the procedure. On 22 August, Danzig was still theoretically a Free City under a constitution protected by the League of Nations. On 1 September the Nazi Gauleiter of Danzig, Albert Forster, as head of the state, declared the constitution abolished and Danzig a part of the Reich.1/ A Reich law of the same date confirmed this act.2/ On 7 September, the day that Polish resistance at Danzig closed, Forster

1/ The new Staatsgrundgesetz (constitution) enacted in Danzig on 23 August 1939 had conferred the exercise of sovereign powers on Forster.
2/ Reichsgesetzblatt, 1939, I, 1547-48.

proclaimed that his exercise of civil administration would extend from Danzig over the adjoining, formerly Polish, wojewodztwo of Pomorze, and that he would appoint delegates (Beauftragte) to carry out his orders in these districts.1/ Between 7 and 13 September Forster issued a series of seven decrees: (a) requiring Poles to surrender all weapons; (b) freezing bank accounts and fixing the value of the zloty at fifty pfennigs; (c) regulating retail trade; (d) prohibiting Polish organizations and the assembly of persons; (e) regulating the surrender of weapons; (f) prohibiting the ritual slaughter of animals; (g) stipulating the kinds of payment for goods requisitioned from Germans and Poles. 2/

Meanwhile the military district of Danzig-West Prussia (Danzig-Westpreussen) was formally delimited and General Walter Heitz, Commander of the Eighth Infantry Corps, was put in command with headquarters at Danzig. In a proclamation of 14 September, General Heitz announced that the Supreme Army Command had named him military commander in the areas of the former Free City of Danzig and the former Polish province of Pomorze, with full executive authority. He stated that his prime task would be to repair the disruptions caused by the campaign and to restore order and security, "in co-operation with the Chief of Civil Administration appointed at my side, Gauleiter Forster." Heitz warned that he would counter "with ruthless decision" anyone who might offer passive resistance or otherwise contravene his orders. 3/

During the ensuing six weeks of military administration (14 September - 25 October 1939), the basic task was accomplished of introducing a skeleton staff of civil administrators over the entire area of Pomorze and setting the

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1/ Verordnungsblatt für die Zivilverwaltung in den dem Gauleiter Forster als Chef der Zivilverwaltung unterstellten besetzten Gebieten, No. 1 (7 September 1939), p. 1.
2/ Ibid., pp. 2-16.
3/ Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers Danzig-Westpreussen, No. 1 (14 September 1939), p. 1.

principal economic controls in operation. Over the names of General Heitz, Gauleiter Forster, or their subordinates, several dozen decrees were published. Among the most important of these were: (a) foreign exchange regulations; (b) measures temporarily continuing in force certain Polish tax laws; (c) the appointment of rural and town commissioners; (d) price controls; (e) the confiscation of Polish property; (f) Germanization of the school system; (g) introduction of the Reich Food Estate legislation; (h) establishment of a special court at Bydgoszcz (Bromberg); (i) establishment of a regional economic office for Danzig-West Prussia; and (j) the introduction of labor controls and a wage schedule. 1/

Military administration ran approximately the same course in Poznan, Polish Upper Silesia, and the other Polish areas later incorporated into the Reich. At midnight of 25 October the military authority ended, the four military districts were abolished, and the permanent organs of civil administration assumed entire control.

3. The Transition to Permanent Civil Administration

The Polish territories incorporated in the Reich on 26 October 1939 were organized in accordance with a decree of Hitler issued 8 October. 2/ By the terms of this decree, the bulk of the incorporated area was formed into the Reichsgau Westpreussen (later Danzig-Westpreussen) and the Reichsgau Posen (later Wartheland), each headed by a Reich Governor (Reichsstatthalter). Most of the remaining territory was used to construct two new Prussian government districts (Regierungsbezirke). The district of Katowice (Kattowitz) was incorporated into the Prussian province of Silesia; the district of Ciechanow (Zichenau), into the Prussian province

1/ Ibid., pp. 2-252.
2/ RGBl., 1939, I,2042-43.

of East Prussia. 1/ The framework of the law of 14 April 1939 adopted for the Sudetenland was taken over bodily and applied to the two new Reichsgaue. Existing Polish law was retained in force for the time being, with the proviso that the Reich Minister of the Interior might introduce Reich and Prussian legislation to supplant it. Reich citizenship was granted to Germans living in the incorporated territories. The Reich Ministry of the Interior was designated as a central office charged with effecting the incorporation in detail.

Thus within eight weeks after the beginning of the war an administrative apparatus, in skeleton form, was functioning in the incorporated Polish territories. Most of the remaining details were filled in during November and December 1939. Reich legislation was gradually introduced, but new Reich laws and decrees were made applicable in the incorporated Polish territories only when they contained a clause expressly stipulating this requirement. 2/ Due to the special conditions prevailing in the formerly Polish areas, moreover, Reich legislation was usually introduced with a discretionary clause to the effect that, insofar as the provisions might not lend themselves to immediate application, they were to be applied when circumstances allowed (sinngemäss anzuwenden).

The district of Bialystok, incorporated in the Reich on 1 August 1941, received a somewhat different treatment, as described below (B 3).

1/ The county of Suwalki was added to the East Prussian government district of Gumbinnen; the county of Lubliniec and parts of the counties of Częstochowa, Zawiercie, and Rybnik were incorporated into the Upper Silesian government district of Oppeln.
2/ RGBl., 1939, I, 2108-9.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

1. The Reichsgaue Danzig-Westpreussen and Wartheland

Approximately 75 percent of the area of Polish territory incorporated into the Reich by the decree of 8 October 1939 was not added to existing political subdivisions of Germany but was organized on the pattern of the Reichsgaue. This procedure was in pursuance of the Nazi plan to establish as the norm for the Reich this new type of administrative unit with its two distinctive features -- full co-ordination of Party and governmental controls, and centralization of all powers in the hands of the combined Gauleiter and Reich Governor (Reichsstatthalter). The Nazis frankly used the newly annexed and alien region to push their administrative experimentation still further. One spokesman described the program as follows:

> While in the Old Reich National Socialism took existing circumstances -- insofar as they were sound -- into account, and made at least some concessions in building up the administration, in the new eastern territories this was not necessary. Here National Socialist ideology could be carried out from the ground up. Here it was not necessary to proceed with caution. Here, in many respects for the first time, National Socialist theory could be put into practice 100 percent. 1/

The Polish territories incorporated into the Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen and the Reichsgau Wartheland received the Reichsgau pattern in even purer form than Austria and the Sudetenland. One observer saw the situation as follows: 2/

> In the new Eastern Gaue for the first time all branches of the Gau administration are brought together under one head -- that is, each administrative official is subject to the Reich Governor, with the sole exception of the Post and Railways, which are, however, indirectly subject to him through commissioners (Beauftragte). Either the other officials are under him by virtue of his being the leading authority, or else the Reich Governor is personally head of the particular branches. In contrast with the Old Reich, for example, the Land Economic Office, the Land Forestry Office, the Waterways Management, and the Land Labor Office are attached to the office of the Reich Governor, while the latter, on the other hand, is personally head of the Finance Administration, Justice Administration, and Propaganda Administration. In the same way the Higher SS and Police Leader is subject to him....
>
> Clearly the position of the Reich Governor is much stronger than that of his opposite numbers in the Old Reich. The development follows clearly from the Ostmark Act

1/ National-Zeitung (Essen), 6 October 1942.
2/ Ibid.

> through the Sudetengau Act to the setting up of administration in the incorporated Eastern Gaue. Here, in the ranks of the Gau administration, totality has been attained, and, since the two Reich Governors and the Provincial Presidents are at the same time Gauleiter, they are for the first time, in effect, the prime Führer of their area, and for the first time are entirely and solely responsible to the Führer for it and for everything that happens there....

The details of the Reich Governor's authority were specified in a decree of 2 November 1939. 1/ His office was provided with seven departments as follows: (a) general, interior, and financial affairs; (b) health and social welfare; (c) education, cultural, and community welfare; (d) agriculture, resettlement, land reform, and water control; (e) economy and labor (f) forestry and hunting; (g) construction. (Later, departments for waterways and surveys were added.) As in other Reichsgaue, certain of the Reich Governor's functions were classed together under the separate heading of "Gau self-government" -- a distinction without significance, however, since these functions were performed along with all the others through the same departments in the Reich Governor's office.

Like the provinces of Prussia and like other Reichsgaue, the two eastern Reichsgaue were subdivided into government districts (Regierungsbezirke), each headed by a district president (Regierungspräsident). This official normally had most of the functions of interior administration in his district, including police. In the eastern Reichsgaue he was made directly subject to orders from the Reich Governor. Like the latter authority he was always both a civil servant and a Party leader, but unlike the Reich Governor he was primarily an administrator, and his Party activities were a secondary if not a minor function. His district office was composed of four departments (interior affairs, education, economy, and agriculture) as well as an insurance office and

1/ RGBl, 1939, I, 2133.

a finance office.

As in most parts of Germany, the local unit of state administration in the Reichsgaue Danzig-Westprussen and Wartheland was the rural county (Landkreis), administered by a rural councillor (Landrat). 1/ Where a city formed a separate municipal county (Stadtkreis), state functions were vested in the mayor. In accordance with Nazi theory, an attempt was made at first to keep state and Party functions distinct on this level of administration, and Party leadership on the county level was put in the hands of a county leader (Kreisleiter). However, the peculiar conditions of the formerly Polish areas, coupled with a shortage of capable personnel, resulted here in the frequent union of the functions of rural councillor and county leaders in the same person.

2. The Government Districts of Katowice and Ciechanow and the County of Suwalki

The remaining territories not formed into Reichsgaue -- roughly 25 percent of the Polish territory incorporated into the Reich by the decree of 8 October 1939 -- were added to existing administrative subdivisions of Prussia. Polish Upper Silesia, with adjacent parts of Kielce and Kraków, was merged with the Gleiwitz and Beuthen area to form the government district of Katowice in the Prussian province of of Silesia. 2/ Similarly, the region of Ciechanow was merged with East Prussia to become the new government district Ciechanow. The former Polish county of Suwalki was renamed Sudauen and incorporated into the government district of Gumbinnen. These regions thus came under the more traditional type of administration of a Prussian Provincial President. In practice, however, there was but slight difference between

1/ Few boundary changes were made. Almost all of the former Polish county boundaries were preserved unaltered.
2/ This province was divided in January 1941 into a province of Lower Silesia and a province of Upper Silesia.

them and the Reichsgaue, since the Provincial President of Upper Silesia (Gauleiter Fritz Bracht) and the Provincial President of East Prussia (Gauleiter Erich Koch) received the same wide powers over the newly incorporated parts of their provinces as the Reich Governor received in the Reichsgaue Wartheland and Danzig-Westpreussen.

3. The District of Bialystok

The district of Bialystok (Bezirk Bialystok), formed out of additional Polish territory taken from the Russians in June 1941 and incorporated into the Reich on 1 August 1941, was given tentatively a status similar to that of Alsace. In other words, its administrative system, while almost completely Germanized to conform to that of adjacent East Prussia, was left permanently in the hands of a Chief of Civil Administration (Chef der Zivilverwaltung) who was directly responsible to Hitler alone. From August 1941 until the summer of 1944, when Bialystok was reconquered by the Red Army, the Chief of the district was Erich Koch, the Gauleiter and Provincial President of East Prussia, who directed the administration of the district from Königsberg through a resident deputy (Zivilkommissar) in Bialystok. In practice Bialystok was administratively an appendage of East Prussia, whence came most of its agricultural, financial, and municipal officials.

4. Local Government

Communities in the incorporated Polish territories were divided into two categories: those cities and towns in which the German Municipalities Act of 1935 was to be introduced immediately, and the remainder (mostly small towns and rural communities) in which its introduction was indefinitely postponed. A decree of 21 December 1939 named

the cities where the Act was to be introduced as of 1 January 1940. 1/ Municipal regulations of pre-war Polish origin were retained insofar as they did not conflict with the Act. German mayors were appointed by the state; in many cases they were the same men who had acted as city commissioners (Stadtkommissare) since the period of military administration in September.

In all other communities the German Municipalities Act was not applied until such time as the Reich Governor or the Provincial President should see fit to introduce it. In the meantime each community, or a group of small rural communities, was put under an Amtskommissar (commissioner) who became the principal agent of the state in its immediate dealings with the Polish town or village. The Amtskommissar, under the supervision of the rural councillor, exercised police and such interior administrative functions as regulating the financial affairs of the community. The Polish soltys or the wojt (a village official) was required strictly to follow the commissioner's orders. The Amtskommissar obviously had every opportunity of making himself the local tyrant with regard to the Polish population, and the evidence shows that he frequently did.

In most of the larger communities, especially those where the resettlement program produced a sizable German population during 1940, the administration by Amtskommissare was quickly succeeded by the introduction of the German Municipal Code and a German mayor (often the former Amtskommissar). In all but the larger towns, however, the German municipal administration continued to function with only a skeleton staff throughout the occupation.

1/ They included all of the communities of the former Free City of Danzig, as well as the cities of Bydgoszcz, Gniezno, Gdynia, Grudziadz, Inowroclaw, Kalisz, Katowice, Chorzow, Wloclawek, Lodz, Poznan, Sosnowiec, and Torun. (RGBl., 1939, I,2467-71.)

For example, in Starogard, a town of twenty thousand, only twelve German officials conducted the administration in 1943.

C. ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

1. Administrative Personnel

The staff of civil servants required for the incorporated Polish areas had to be drawn mainly from the Reich. Practically no use was made of former Polish officials, nor, for that matter, were many of these persons available. Many of them had fled during the campaign, others were expelled as undesirable aliens in the Nazi deportations of Polish intellectuals and leaders, and those few remaining were retired to private life on the Nazi theory that the entire region must be reconstructed by genuine Germans and that no unreliable elements were wanted.

Trained German personnel, however, was not available in sufficient numbers to replace the Poles. The existing administrative staff of the former Free City of Danzig sufficed to perform certain functions over the enlarged jurisdiction of Danzig-Westpreussen, and a certain number of Danzig officials took up tasks even farther afield; for example, Greiser, the President of the Danzig Senate, became the Reich Governor of the Wartheland. But Danzigers could fill only a small part of the need. The local Racial Germans (Volksdeutsche) who had been citizens of former Poland, were also not numerous enough to be of much help. Poland's minorities policy, moreover, had prevented them from acquiring administrative experience. Hence the Old Reich had to provide the largest part of the necessary personnel. The situation was described in these terms:

> Besides the state authorities, the units of local government supplied a great deal of personnel which was put to use not in local but in state tasks.
>
> Offices rendered idle through the evacuation of certain border areas in the West were to a great extent transplanted to the eastern Gaue, by entire staffs whenever possible.
>
> The Party also contributed to the reconstruction of administration in the East by supplying a large number of men with special experience and dependability

> for use in positions of particular political importance. In the interest of the utmost economy in the use of manpower, a personal union between Party and state offices was striven for and, notably in the case of Kreisleiter and Landrat, almost always attained.
>
> In addition, manpower going to waste in professions rendered unimportant by the war was seized upon. Lawyers and members of Hamburg export firms were taken over, sometimes temporarily, sometimes permanently, into the administration of the East. 1/

Furthermore, a considerable number of German lawyers resettled from the Baltic states and from Volhynia, and even a few of the Germans brought back from Bessarabia and Bukowina, were also recruited for administrative offices in the incorporated parts of Poland.

2. Courts and Codes

The judicial system in the parts of Poland incorporated into the Reich was entirely Germanized in both procedure and personnel, although the process was not effected at once. This result was in contrast to German policy in the General Government, where a system of Polish courts was left side by side with the German courts.

During the eight weeks of military administration, the usual military courts (special courts, summary courts martial) were set up. Of these, only the special courts (Sondergerichte) continued to exercise jurisdiction over civilians after 25 October 1939. These tribunals sat normally in the same places as the district courts (Landgerichte) and dealt with "grave crimes" (schwere Kriminalität). Throughout the occupation, one of their main activities was the trial of Poles accused of black market dealings or other infringements of the war economy controls. The sentence in such cases was usually death.

Poles and Jews were subjected to a harsher criminal code than that applied to Germans. The decree of 6 June 1940 introducing German criminal law contained a separate article

1/ Deutsche Verwaltung, 25 March 1941, p. 114.

on "Special Criminal Provisions for the Incorporated Eastern Territories" which specified the death penalty for such crimes as assault on German authorities, injury to public property, infringement of decrees, and possession of weapons. 1/ This measure was elaborated and refined by a decree of 4 December 1941 "Concerning the Application of Criminal Law against Poles and Jews in the Incorporated Eastern Territories." 2/ For the benefit of Germans, on the other hand, special provision was made for the review and revision of decisions previously handed down by Polish courts.

The German judicial system was formally introduced by a decree of 13 June 1940 3/, and an ordinance of 26 November 1940 defined the boundaries and seats of the court districts. 4/ Courts of appeal (Oberlandesgerichte) were established at Danzig, Poznan, and Katowice. Under each court of appeals roughly a half-dozen district courts (Landgerichte) were established in the larger towns. Most of the smaller towns received local courts (Amtsgerichte). In 1941, moreover, the court of appeals at Königsberg became the court of appeals for the government district of Ciechanow and for Suwalki, as well as for the district of Bialystok.

3. The SS and Police

The Nazi police system was extended unaltered over the Polish areas incorporated into the Reich. The areas merged with Silesia and East Prussia came under the Higher SS and Police Leaders in Breslau and Königsberg respectively. For the Reichsgaue Danzig-Westpreussen and Wartheland, Higher SS and Police Leaders were attached to the offices of the Reich Governors at Danzig and Poznan.

Special police auxiliaries proved to be especially

1/ RGBl., 1940, I, 845-46.
2/ RGBl., 1941, I, 759-61.
3/ RGBl., 1940, I, 907.
4/ RGBl., 1940, I, 1538-40.

useful in these territories. Because of the heavy demands upon regular police manpower after the invasion of Russia and the occupation of new regions, there were not enough state police to cope with Polish resistance and related security problems. German resettlers, especially in the rural sections of Wartheland, felt insecure in the midst of a hostile population. To solve this problem, Reich Governor Greiser established in certain parts of the Reichsgau an Ortswacht (local guard) in part recruited from among the resettlers themselves. The role of this guard was described as follows:

> The Ortswacht was composed of men from all classes and professions and was designed to give protection and support to the resettlers, to secure the life and property of all Germans, and to protect factories engaged in war production and other objectives which are particularly endangered by enemy parachutists and saboteurs. 1/

When the system of rural auxiliary police was later established for the entire Reich by Himmler's decree of 17 January 1942 creating the Landwacht (rural guard), Greiser's Ortswacht was merged in the latter. In the towns, where it was called the Stadtwacht (city guard), the auxiliary police service was unpopular at first. The Germans in centers like Lodz and Poznan felt protected by their numbers and solidarity. The situation appeared to one observer in the following light:

> In contrast, the men in the country knew better how to estimate their service in the Landwacht. Whoever knows the scattered and trailing villages of the Warthegau, or has followed internal political developments in our Gau, knows what dangers would menace the German resettlers if they had not joined together in the Landwacht to form a defensive front. These men have joyfully and voluntarily put themselves at the disposal of the Landwacht service although they were already fully occupied in the battle for production and all the other manifold war duties.... In the Warthegau, the men of the Landwacht have repeatedly distinguished themselves in combating Polish criminals. 2/

1/ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, 11 March 1944.
2/ Ibid.

Similarly an Upper Silesian guard service was organized to provide auxiliary protection for the armament factories in that area.

Use of non-Germans as auxiliary police was confined largely to certain parts of Upper Silesia and the district of Bialystok. In Polish Upper Silesia, Poles registered on the Volksliste 1/ were employed in considerable numbers as auxiliaries for the Order Police. For the most part they were middle-aged men and were used as patrolmen under a German chief.

In the district of Bialystok, both Poles and White Ruthenians were recruited into the auxiliary police. They wore army uniforms without shoulder insignia and were armed; they were ordinarily posted in units composed of three German gendarmes to six non-German auxiliaries.

4. Taxation

Throughout the German-annexed portions of Poland, Polish tax offices were retained and Polish taxes collected during the first few weeks of occupation, but a decree of 18 November 1939 introduced the first of a series of Reich tax provisions 2/ whose most distinctive feature was the system of favors granted to Germans. Nazi tax policy in this region was exemplified by the Eastern Tax Aid Decree (Ost-Steuer-Hilfe-Verordnung) of 9 December 1940. This decree had "the purpose of strengthening and promoting the German element in the incorporated Eastern territories by means of tax measures," and granted Germans in these areas considerable exemptions with regard to income taxes and other taxes. 3/ Later decrees enlarged and elaborated these provisions.

1/ See below, M 3.
2/ RGBl., 1939, I, 2258-59.
3/ RGBl., 1940, I, 1565-70.

5. Railways, Posts, Telephone, and Telegraph

All means of transportation and communication in the incorporated districts were completely merged with those of the Reich. This step involved an administrative partition of the railway and postal systems of former Poland. While that part of the Polish State Railways lying inside the General Government was reorganized under the name of "Eastern Railway" (Ostbahn), a decree of 27 November 1939 incorporated into the Deutsche Reichsbahn those lines which ran through the annexed areas. 1/ Similarly the postal, telegraph, and telephone system in the General Government was reconstituted as the German Eastern Post Office (Deutsche Post Osten), while that of the incorporated territories was joined to the Deutsche Reichspost.

1/ RGBl., 1939, I, 2302.

D. FUNCTIONS OF ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

1. Money and Banking

Although the zloty was retained as the monetary unit of the General Government, it was replaced by the Reichsmark in the Polish territories incorporated into the Reich. At the beginning of the invasion the Germans assigned to the zloty an arbitrary value of half a Reichsmark. For the time being, they allowed zloty currency and coins to circulate as legal tender interchangeable with Reichsmarks. From 27 November 1939, however, the zloty ceased to be legal tender, except small token coins which were allowed to circulate as legal tender one year longer. 1/

All Polish banks were liquidated and their places taken by German banks. Some of the latter were already in business in Poland before the war, but the majority were either new banks or branches of Reich institutions. Reichskreditkassen, which had been set up as temporary agencies during the invasion period, were soon abolished or transformed into branches of the Deutsche Reichsbank. Other German banks quickly expanded into the same region, notably the Dresdner Bank, which founded a subsidiary, the Ostbank A.G., at Poznan, with branches in Bydgoszcz, Inowroclaw, and other large towns of the Wartheland.

In the field of long-term mortgage financing, each of the two new Reichsgaue received a new mortgage bank (Landschaft), organized as a public credit institution. Correspondingly, two new state-controlled farmers' banks were set up to supply personal credit to farmers: the Bank der Danzig-Westpreussischen Landschaft at Danzig and the Landwirtschaftliche Bank für das Wartheland at Poznan. New municipal savings banks were organized, headed by a regional central savings bank (Landesbank und Girozentrale) at the

1/ RGBl., 1939, I,2291-92; RGBl., 1940, I,1309.

Reichsgau capitals, Danzig and Poznan, and at Breslau and Königsberg. The extensive system of Polish credit co-operatives was in part retained, reorganized, and Germanized, and controlled through central banks such as the Landesgenossenschaftsbank e.G.m.b.H. at Poznan.

In addition, certain state-controlled banks with very special and localized functions operated in this region. The most important of these were the credit institutions engaged in financing the resettlement of Germans from Eastern Europe: the Deutsche Siedlungsbank and the agencies of the Deutsche Umsiedlungs-Treuhand G.m.b.H. 1/

2. Labor

A notable feature of the German exploitation of occupied Poland was the speed with which it was brought to fruition. Thanks to complete pre-war preparations, no time was lost in integrating Polish labor, plants, and raw materials into the Reich's war economy. In the case of labor, Polish workers were rounded up and sent to the Reich the moment a given area was captured by the Wehrmacht. Employment offices were set up in all the important towns of Polish Upper Silesia between 3 and 7 September 1939, and in Lodz as early as 12 September. The Employment Office (Arbeitsamt) was usually staffed by from three to a dozen officials of the Reich Labor Ministry, on loan from Employment Offices in the Reich, assisted by local Racial Germans where the latter were available.

While the main draft of Polish labor to the Reich occurred in the General Government, around a quarter of a million workers were taken from the incorporated territories as well. For the most part they were persons thrown out of work in factories immobilized because of the war or Nazi policy. The closing of small textile firms in Lodz alone

1/ See below, E 1.

freed some one hundred and fifteen thousand workers. Others were rounded up in rural areas, particularly in the Reichsgau Wartheland, from among elements which would have been deported in any case -- peasants or villagers crowded out by the resettlement program or considered impossible to Germanize.

Later a part of these persons were returned to the incorporated areas, when the conversion of industry and agriculture there to production for Nazi war requirements resulted in a growing shortage of labor. Ultimately, the drawing off of Polish workers for employment in the western part of the Reich stopped almost entirely.

Like the Polish workers sent to the Old Reich, those employed in the incorporated Polish territories were paid less and had to endure worse working conditions than the Germans. In December 1942 this discrimination was partially abolished in the Wartheland through the offer of equal wages and equal rations to any Polish workers who would equal the German workers in efficiency and output. Greiser ordered that such Poles be registered as members of a new "League of Efficient Polish Workers" (Verband der Leistungspolen).

3. Agriculture

The apparatus of the Reich Food Estate was introduced at the start of the occupation with the compulsory absorption of all agricultural producers into trade associations (Wirtschaftsverbände), the appointment of peasant leaders (Landesbauernführer) for the two new Reichsgaue, and the establishment of food offices to enforce the Reich's rationing system in the new territories. The existing Polish system of farmers' co-operatives, after being purged of all political elements, was fitted into the new marketing machinery. The peasant associations (Landesbauernschaften) took over the same functions here as in the Old Reich, except that the

County Peasant Leader (Kreisbauernführer) received the additional tasks of a County Farm Manager (Kreislandwirt), with the responsibility of supervising the management of confiscated Polish farms. Because of the scarcity of German settlers, Local Peasant Leaders (Ortsbauernführer) were appointed only gradually. Food delivery offices were staffed by Poles under German supervision. Ration boards (Ernährungsämter) in urban centers such as Lodz were staffed largely by German women.

4. Industry and Trade

The industry and trade of Western Poland were brought immediately under the Nazi system of economic controls. As soon as the manufacturing plants and trade establishments of the incorporated region were reorganized under German ownership, they were fitted into the German pattern of National, Economic, and Trade Groups (Reichsgruppen, Wirtschaftsgruppen, Fachgruppen). At the same time chambers of industry and trade of the type familiar in the Old Reich were set up. These chambers were reorganized in 1943 as Gau Economic Chambers (Gauwirtschaftskammern) with their seats at Danzig, Poznan, Königsberg, and Katowice. The Wartheland chamber had a branch at Lodz, the Wirtschaftskammer Litzmannstadt.

5. Special Agencies for the Administration of Confiscated Polish Property

a. The Policy of Confiscation

In Poland the Nazis established the pattern of systematic large-scale looting of non-German property. All vital enterprises, plants, and sites were seized and immediately put under the management of temporary administrators, step by step with the military invasion. 1/ By a decree of

1/ Decree of 29 September 1939, Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten Gebiete in Polen, p. 21.

for the twofold purpose of freeing it for state use (resettlement or dismantlement, merger with other property, etc.) and of throwing the former owners on the labor market.

b. Trustee Administration

The appointment of trustees to manage confiscated enterprises commenced during the military invasion. The procedure was systematized by a decree of Göring on 1 November 1939, announcing the creation of a Main Trustee Office for the East (Haupttreuhandstelle Ost -- HTO) as an agency of the Four-Year Plan. The HTO had its seat in Berlin, with branch offices for the incorporated territories in Danzig, Gdynia, Poznan, Lodz, Ciechanow, and Katowice. (The trustee system in central Poland was managed by a separate Treuhandstelle für das Generalgouvernement at Krakow, under the HTO.) The HTO did much more than merely appoint and supervise trustees. It carried out far-reaching plans for the reshaping of industry and trade and the ultimate pattern of ownership. Under its direction some enterprises were dismantled or merged with others. Debts orginating in the pre-war period were settled only if owed to Germans or non-enemy aliens; Polish creditors received nothing. As quickly as practicable, enterprises thus readjusted were sold to German owners, who in many cases were the former trustees. A drastic program of reducing the number of small retail enterprises and handicraft shops was carried out by two HTO subsidiaries, the Eastern Trade Reconstruction Corporation (Handelsaufbau Ost G.m.b.H.) and the Handicrafts Reconstruction Corporation (Handwerksaufbau G.m.b.H.). The Holding Corporation for Soldiers' Enterprises (Auffangsgesellschaft für Kriegsteilnehmerbetriebe), another HTO agency, was entrusted with the special management of stores and workshops reserved for veterans. Former Polish residential property required for the use of German officials moving into the conquered territory was remodeled and managed

15 January 1940, all property of the Polish state became the property of the Reich. 1/

The confiscation of private property was carried farthest in the territories incorporated in the Reich. Not only all abandoned or Jewish-owned property but also much property (both movable and immovable) of resident Poles was seized for the use of German resettlers or for purposes of "rationalization" through merger of enterprises for war production. While only a minority of the peasant farms of the region were actually taken away from their Polish owners and given to Germans, the majority of the privately owned industrial shops and retail stores (in some towns practically all of them), as well as most of the better residences, with their furnishings, were taken over by Germans. Evicted Poles were permitted to keep only such belongings as they could carry away by hand. Possession by Germans of furnishings and personal belongings of evicted Poles was subject to official confirmation (e.g., in the Wartheland such loot had to be reported to the Möbelstelle of the Amt für Raumbewirtschaftung at Poznan), but a great deal of it was acquired and kept irregularly.

A comprehensive decree of 17 September 1940, signed by Göring as head of the Four-Year Plan, summed up existing policy regarding private property. In the incorporated territories, all property of members of the former Polish state was declared subject to seizure, confiscation, and administration by trustees. Confiscation was made mandatory in the case of Jewish-owned or abandoned property; it was optional in cases where the public weal was involved or where the owner had entered the then German Reich subsequently to 1 October 1918. 2/ In practice, Polish private property was confiscated

1/ RGBl., 1940, I, 174-75.
2/ RGBl., 1940, I, 1270-73.

by the Real Estate Corporation of the HTO (Grundstücksgesellschaft der Haupttreuhandstelle Ost m.b.H).

c. The Management of Confiscated Farms

With regard to agriculture in Western Poland, the Nazis had the twofold aim of obtaining the maximum food production and of attempting, at the same time, to Germanize the farming population. This task was rendered difficult by the large number of excessively small farms and the physical impossibility of replacing the entire Polish peasant population with German colonists. The result was that the state took over the direct management of the larger Polish estates, transferred a number of smaller Polish farms to German resettlers, and left the remainder of the Polish peasant holdings in the hands of their Polish owners for the time being, but under strict supervision. All this was done pursuant to a decree of 12 February 1940, which brought under public management the agricultural and forest enterprises and real estate in the incorporated Eastern territories which had not been the property of persons of German nationality on 1 September 1939. 1/

Supervisory authority was vested not in the HTO but in a separate state-owned corporation, the Reich Corporation for Land Management (Reichsgesellschaft für die Landbewirtschaftung m.b.H.), called "Reichsland" (originally "Ostland"). The Reichsland was under the direction of the Reich Minister of Agriculture and had a central office in the Ministry at Berlin, with branch offices at Danzig, Grudziadz, Bydgoszcz, Poznan, Inowroclaw, Lodz, Ciechanow, and Katowice. Its functions included placing German managers on the larger Polish estates which were retained by the state as domains, transferring other farms, either intact or reparcelled, to German resettlers, and maintaining strict supervision over

1/ RGBl., 1940, I, 355-57.

Polish farmers through its local agents, the County Farm Managers. Following the directives of the Reich Food Estate, the Reichsland applied production plans, extended credit to farmers, allocated fertilizers and machinery, and instructed the German resettlers and Polish peasants in farming methods. In 1942 some 52 percent of the cultivated area of the incorporated Polish territories was under the management of the Reichsland corporation.

E. POLICIES AND METHODS OF GERMANIZATION

1. The Program of Germanization

In contrast with Central Poland, whose inhabitants the Nazis regarded as a colonial population and had no intention of Germanizing, the Polish territories incorporated in the Reich were subjected to a program of Germanization aimed at the complete elimination of Polish nationality and culture. Hitler instructed the Gauleiter at Danzig and Poznan to push this program with such single-mindedness that Danzig-Westpreussen and Wartheland would be entirely German within ten years. However, while the war continued this program could be only partially carried out. Under the direction of a specially appointed Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of the German Race (Reichskommissär für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums) nearly three million persons in this region were resettled, while an additional two and one-quarter million Poles were registered and trained as Germans. The Reich Commissioner's authority was invested in Heinrich Himmler. The Gauleiter at Poznan, Danzig, Katowice, and Königsberg were named the representatives of Himmler in this capacity, although the resettlement program was actually carried out largely by SS personnel, under the direction of the Intermediate Office for Racial Germans (Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle), headed by SS Obergruppenführer Werner Lorenz, in Berlin.

2. Resettlement

Non-Germans were deported mainly during the winter of 1939-40; the importation of German resettlers to replace them occurred over a four and one-half year period from 1939 to 1944. An estimated 1,800,000 Poles and Jews were deported to the General Government in the first year of the occupation. They included a large part of the urban middle class. The small remnant of Jews who were not deported were segregated in ghettos, principally in Lodz, Bialystok, Chrzanow, and

Zawiercie, or in work camps.

German resettlers colonized in the same region between 1939 and 1944 came almost exclusively from the USSR or from Soviet-occupied territories (Estonia, Latvia, Volhynia, Bukowina, Bessarabia, etc.) By this move, in the first instance, the Nazis intended (prior to 1941) to eliminate all problems of national minorities between the Reich and the Soviet Union. German resettlers brought back in 1943 and 1944 from the Ukraine, on the other hand, came to the Reich in the general German military retreat from Russia. By the summer of 1944 some 908,000 Racial Germans had been brought back to the Reich from Eastern Europe and colonized on farms (and to some extent in the towns), principally in the Reichsgau Wartheland. The financial details of this repatriation process were handled by a state-owned corporation, the German Resettlement Trustee Corporation (Deutsche Umsiedlungs-Treuhand G.m.b.H.) and its subsidiary, the Deutsche Ansiedlungs G.m.b.H., with branch offices at Danzig, Poznan, and Katowice.

3. The German Racial Register

Naturalization was used by the Nazis to produce a superficial Germanization of the incorporated Polish territories beyond the point where resettlement fell short. The decree of 8 October 1939 had granted German citizenship to Racial Germans and the status of membership in the Reich (deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit) to "inhabitants with German or related (artverwandten) blood," providing they fulfilled other conditions later to be stipulated. Since Poles were classed as persons of artverwandten blood, the way was thus left open for at least a part of them to be brought into the category of "members of the Reich." Until that time they remained stateless persons and were officially called "protected subjects of the Reich" (Schutzangehörige des deutschen Reiches).

When it became apparent that Germany was due for a long war and that it would be impossible to replace more than a small part of the Polish population with German colonists, the Nazis faced the necessity of discovering as many Poles as possible who could be classified as Germans and hence be made available for military service. The device resorted to was a system of public registration known as the German Racial Register (Deutsche Volksliste), established by a decree of 4 March 1941. 1/ Under this decree was regularized a system of five categories into which all the inhabitants of the incorporated Polish territories could be brought. Categories I and II were reserved for persons of indubitably German culture and background, i.e., the members of the former German minority in Poland: category I for those who had been politically active as German nationalists; category II for those who had remained inactive. Categories III and IV applied to persons of Polish upbringing considered "Germanizable" (Eindeutschungsfähig); category III for those who could show some German blood and who were willing to accept Germanization; category IV for persons similarly qualified by descent but resistant to Germanization. Category V consisted of all others, i.e., Poles of indubitably Polish extraction, regarded as impossible to Germanize. These persons were classed permanently as protected subjects of the Reich (Schutzangehörige).

In practice there developed a clash of views as to how the Volksliste policy should be applied. Local authorities, face to face with the difficulties of governing a mixed and antagonistic population, tended to favor an easy Germanization policy along traditional lines, which, by relaxing the qualifications for categories III and IV, would have given Reich

1/ RGBl., 1941, I, 118-20. A German Racial Register had already been conducted by Greiser in the Reichsgau Wartheland since October 1939. (Verordnungsblatt des Reichsstatthalters im Reichsgau Wartheland, No. 6, 1939, p. 51.)

citizenship to the majority of the Poles. On the other hand the more fanatical Nazis and the central authorities, led by Himmler, insisted that "race" should be the sole criterion. Himmler's view prevailed, with the result that the majority of Poles in the incorporated region remained Schutzangehörige only.

Nevertheless, the number of Poles ultimately registered in categories III and IV as Racial Germans totaled some 2,500,000. About a million of these resided in the Reichsgaue Danzig-Westpreussen and Wartheland, while another 1,500,000 were Upper Silesians living in the government district of Katowice.

The records of the Volksliste were maintained by the Gau Office for Racial Questions (Gauamt für Volkstumsfragen) at Katowice, Poznan, and Danzig. Poles taken into categories III and IV had a probationary status and could be struck from the register if they proved uncooperative. Reich citizenship granted to those in category IV was subject to cancellation any time within ten years. Once registered on the Volksliste, a Pole was no longer subject to the criminal code for Poles and Jews or to the Polish wage ceiling. He received rations equal to those received by Germans. On the other hand, he was obligated to learn and speak only the German language and to let his children be Germanized in camps conducted by the Hitler Jugend and the Bund deutscher Mädel. Most important of all, he became immediately subject to conscription for the German Army.

Evidence seems to show that the majority of Poles brought under the Volksliste policy did not resist it. Refusal to register meant persecution, while acquiescence, although involving military service, resulted in a better status and protection for the registrant's family. Consequently, perhaps as many as two hundred thousand Poles were serving with the Wehrmacht by 1944, some with combat units. The majority were kept at menial tasks in units of labor or supply.

4. The NSDAP

All Party formations were extended into the incorporated areas of Poland and played the key role in the Germanization program. While the physical resettlement of German colonists and the deportation of Poles and Jews were carried out by SS personnel, the political schooling of the resettlers was the task of Storm Troopers, Hitler Youth, and National Socialist Women's Association personnel, partly from the Reich and partly from among the local Racial Germans. The Party assumed the difficult task of investigating all Poles for possible inclusion in the Volksliste, and also of conducting training centers and language courses for Poles in categories III and IV. In a region where the German population remained a scattered minority, the Party had the important responsibility of raising morale and creating or preserving a sense of community by means of propaganda. In the Reichsgaue Danzig-Westpreussen and Wartheland, which were reception centers for large numbers of bombed-out evacuees from the Old Reich, the Party assumed the further burden of finding accommodations for the refugees.

5. Schools

The school system in Western Poland was completely Germanized from the moment of incorporation in the Reich. Decrees of Forster and Greiser during the initial period of military administration resulted in the dismissal of all Polish teachers and the introduction of German as the sole language of instruction. Elementary school attendance was made compulsory for Polish children as well as German. 1/ Due, however, to the impossibility of supplying enough German teachers to replace the Polish teachers, compulsory school

1/ RGBl., 1940, I, 836.

attendance remained for the most part a dead letter in the case of the children of Polish Schutzangehörige, who consequently went unschooled and worked in agriculture and industry. Children of Poles in categories III and IV of the Volksliste, on the other hand, were compelled to undergo a careful if one-sided schooling for the purpose of Germanizing them. Great emphasis was laid on their learning the German language.

6. Churches

Western Poland is almost uniformly Roman Catholic, and the Church there had become closely identified with Polish nationalism and with resistance to German rule during the period 1870-90, when Pomorze, Poznan, and Polish Silesia, at that time a part of Prussia, bore the brunt of Bismarck's anti-Catholic policy (the Kulturkampf) and anti-Polish program. Hence the Nazis' church policy in this region between 1939 and 1944 was from one viewpoint merely a revival, with more ruthless means, of former German attempts to destroy Polish nationalism and Polish culture.

The Nazis drastically circumscribed the activities of both Catholic and Protestant Polish churches in the incorporated regions, closing many church buildings or taking them for other uses, confiscating considerable church property, and imprisoning hundreds of clergy. Except in Upper Silesia, a strict segregation of Polish congregations from their German co-religionists was enforced.

The parts of Poland incorporated in the Reich included the following ecclesiastical areas: the entire ecclesiastical province of Gniezno and Poznan; portions of the dioceses of Plock and Lodz and of the archdiocese of Warsaw in the ecclesiastical province of Warsaw; the diocese of Katowice and portions of the dioceses of Czestochowa and Kielce and of the archdiocese of Kraków in the ecclesiastical province

of Kraków; and portions of the archdiocese of Wilno and of the dioceses of Lomza and Pinsk in the ecclesiastical province of Wilno.

The archdiocese of Gniezno and Poznan was left vacant when Cardinal Hlond, the Metropolitan and Primate of Poland, left Poland at the time of the German invasion and took residence for a period at the Holy See. Most of the bishops who remained in their dioceses were either arrested by the Germans or otherwise prohibited from exercising their pastoral functions, but the Nazis did permit a German priest from the cathedral chapter of Poznan, Fr. Hilarius Breitinger, to act as apostolic administrator of the archdiocese of Gniezno-Poznan, the diocese of Lodz, and the incorporated portions of the diocese of Wloclawek and of the archdiocese of Warsaw. A Pole, Auxiliary Bishop Dymek, was also allowed to remain in Poznan and to care in some measure for the needs of Polish Catholics. In the diocese of Chelmno, which corresponds roughly with the wojewodztwo of Pomorze, the Nazis allowed another German churchman, C.M. Splett the Bishop of Danzig, to take over the apostolic administration after the arrest of one Polish vicar general and the death of another.

In Polish Upper Silesia the church fared slightly better, due to the fact that most of the Poles here, including their priests, were registered in the Volksliste. Furthermore, the diocese of Katowice was brought by the annexation under a German metropolitan, Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, who to some extent prevented discrimination against Polish Catholics. Although the bishop, Adamski, was arrested and deported to Warsaw, the Nazis permitted his Polish vicar general, Fr. Woznica, to remain and administer the diocese.

F. LOCAL VARIATIONS OF GERMAN POLICY

1. Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen

The Polish territory incorporated in this Reichsgau consists principally of the former Polish wojewodztwo of Pomorze. This area, comprising most of the western part of the Vistula river valley below Torun, is essentially a second-rate agricultural region. Rolling and partially wooded, it produces grain, potatoes, sugar beets, vegetables, and livestock. Its strategic and economic importance derives chiefly from its position as the hinterland and inland waterway route to Danzig and Gdynia, and as the territorial bridge between East Prussia and the Reich.

Frederick the Great seized most of Pomorze in the first partition of Poland in 1772, for the purpose of linking the Hohenzollern lands in East Prussia with those in Brandenburg. Danzig was forcibly added in 1793. As a Prussian province (Provinz Westpreussen) down to 1919, Pomorze was subjected along with Poznan to a rather inefficient Germanization program, particularly during and after Bismarck's chancellorship. The program largely assumed the form of state-financed colonization of German peasants and the enforced use of the German language in the schools. In spite of this, its population in 1914 was still only two-fifths German, and a large majority of the Germans were concentrated, then as now, in the city of Danzig. By the Peace of Paris in 1919 Poland received all of the province except Danzig (which was set apart as a "Free City" under the protection of the League of Nations), Elbing (a purely German district which went to East Prussia), the Marienwerder district (where a plebiscite of 11 July 1920 resulted overwhelmingly in favor of Germany), and the largely German districts of Schlochau, Flatow, and Deutsch-Krone (which subsequently became a part of the Prussian province of

Pommern). The Polish Government organized the territory as the wojewodztwo of Pomorze, to which Bydgoszcz, Inowroclaw, and the districts of Wloclawek, Lipno, and Rypin later were added.

During the period 1919-39 Pomorze became the paramount symbol of Polish national interest because it represented Poland's "Corridor" to the sea and because it had to be defended against German revisionist and irredentist propaganda. The chief economic changes effected by the Poles were the construction of the new port and city of Gdynia (1924 and after) as the base of the new Polish maritime interests and as a political lever upon Danzig, and the building of the direct railway from the coal fields of Upper Silesia to Gdynia. The small remaining German population was constricted economically by the discriminatory application of agrarian legislation. The creation of Gdynia and the Polonization of German farmlands were two different facets of the same nationalist policy, designed to make this wedge-shaped area between German territories even more preponderantly and securely Polish than it had been. By 1939 the German minority, although not drastically smaller in numbers than in 1919, amounted to only 10 percent of the population (190,381 persons out of 1,867,300). Most of them were small farmers, but some 11,000 lived in the city of Bydgoszcz, which became the headquarters of the Deutsche Vereinigung, the leading German minority organization in Northwestern Poland. Considerable sections of the German community in Pomorze became Nazified in their views and activities. During the German invasion in September 1939, the Poles accused the Bydgoszcz Germans of fifth-column activities. In turn, the Germans exacted severe retributions from the Poles when they captured the city.

The Nazis joined Pomorze to Danzig and to the Marienwerder and Elbing Districts and formally erected them, on 26 October 1939, into the Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen, under the governorship of the Gauleiter of Danzig, Albert Forster. Gdynia was immediately renamed Gotenhafen and turned into a German naval base. The Schichau shipbuilding and locomotive works at Danzig and the small industrial plants at Bydgoszcz, Grudziadz, and Torun were expanded and converted to full war production for the Reich. The coastal region and the cities, particularly Gdynia and Bydgoszcz, were largely cleared of Poles during the winter of 1939-40, and during 1940 other thousands were dispossessed of farms with the result that the total number of Poles deported to the General Government reached about half a million. In their place were put around one hundred thousand German colonists, administrators, and businessmen. These colonists were Racial Germans, mainly from the Baltic states and Bessarabia; the Balts settled largely in Gdynia and other towns, while the Bessarabians took over formerly Polish farms. Many Polish farms were also transferred to German farmers long resident in the region. By 1943 the population had become somewhat stabilized in the following pattern: 1/

Germans:	(1) Former German minority in Pomorze	200,000
	(2) Former Free City of Danzig	400,000
	(3) Former East Prussian areas	300,000
	(4) New colonists and Reich Germans	100,000
	Total number of Germans	1,000,000
Poles:	(1) Those subject to Germanization (Volksliste)	600,000
	(2) Those not subject to Germanization.....	700,000
	Total number of Poles	1,300,000
	Total population	2,300,000

To these totals were added in 1943 and early in 1944 thousands of German evacuees bombed out of Hamburg and other cities. In addition, a considerable number of foreign workers and prisoners of war were located in Danzig and Gdynia and some other parts

1/ Estimates, based on figures given in German newspapers during 1942 and 1943. Cf. Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, 15 August 1942.

of the Gau.

The 1,300,000 Poles remaining in Pomorze in 1944 represented the irreducible remnant considered undeportable by the Nazis because they were needed to keep the economic life of the Gau functioning. The bulk of them were peasants, laborers, and small shopkeepers, although a few thousand were employed in the postal service and by the railways. Beginning in 1941, the Nazis enrolled almost half (some six hundred thousand) of these remaining Poles in the German Racial Register.

2. Reichsgau Wartheland

a. Poznan

This westernmost wojewodztwo of Poland is important for a number of reasons. It is a first-rate agricultural region and produces surpluses of sugar beets, grain, potatoes, and livestock. In addition its administrative seat, Poznan, is an important railway and industrial center, the products of which include locomotives, rubber tires, and chemicals. For Polish nationalists Poznan is significant as the center of the earliest Polish kingdom, of which Gniezno was the first political and ecclesiastical capital. Politically, moreover, Poznan since the first World War has been a center of the National Democratic Party. In recent history the province has been the main stage of the nationality struggle between Poles and Germans. Under Hitler it became the focal area of the Nazi policy of Germanization.

Poznan was part of the Polish kingdom down to the partitions of 1793 and 1795. Thereafter it was under Prussian rule for a century until awarded to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles. From Bismarck's time onward, Prussia applied here the same severe though inefficient Germanization program as in Pomorze, aiming at a reversal of the relative proportions of land held by Polish and German peasants and at making all the

Poles speak German. The large-scale use of state funds to buy out Polish farmers and replace them with Germans failed of its purpose, and in 1914 the Poles, by virtue of their organized resistance and financial self-help, owned more land than before. The legacy of a quarter-century of struggle was an intensified nationalism and a strengthening of the Polish community through the multiplication of peasants' co-operatives. As a result, Poznan was the scene of the first Polish uprising against Germany immediately after the armistice in 1918. All of the province except a few small border districts was awarded to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles. At the time of this cession the bulk of the German population, which had always been in the minority, departed for the Reich. Those remaining after twenty subsequent years of Polish rule numbered only 174,131 out of a population of 2,357,000. Some 6,387 of these lived in the city of Poznan, which remained the political headquarters of the German minority in Poznan. As in Pomorze, the Germans here had to struggle to maintain their minority privileges and sometimes their property. After 1933 many of them turned Nazi, especially the younger Germans.

With the Nazi conquest in September 1939, Poznan was annexed in its entirety to the Reich and, in amalgamation with Lodz, was erected into the Reichsgau Wartheland with Arthur Greiser, formerly president of the Danzig Senate, as Reichsstatthalter and Gauleiter. The Nazi program in this region centered on the aim of obtaining large food surpluses from it. Hence the economic history of Poznan since September 1939 has been characterized by the extension of the Reich agricultural program and the administrative apparatus of the Reichsnährstand over this area, and by the feverish intensification of farm production. Industry, much less important and located mainly in the city of Poznan, was converted to full war production, the main plants being the H. Cegielski

locomotive factory (transferred to the Henschel interests and partially converted to the building of tanks, armored trains, and invasion barges), the Stomil rubber tire plant, and branch plants of the Focke-Wulf aircraft corporation (the latter transferred or newly built since 1939).

The Nazis intended the Wartheland to be not only a bread basket but also a bastion of German population along the frontier between Germans and Slavs. For this reason they settled in this Reichsgau some 750,000 of the 908,000 German colonists brought back from Eastern Europe. In addition, between a third-and half-million Germans from the Reich immigrated into the Poznan and Lodz areas. Together with the 250,000 Germans resident in this part of Poland before the war, these immigrants brought the total number of Germans in the Reichsgau Wartheland to an estimated 1,350,000-1,450,000 by the summer of 1944. The remaining Polish population of the Wartheland at that time must have been approximately three millions. 1/

About a million Poles, including perhaps one hundred thousand Jews, were deported from the Wartheland to the General Government during the early stages of the German occupation. The three million Poles who remained comprised all those who could not, for the time being, be deported without unduly disrupting the economy and lowering the war production of the Reichsgau. To these Poles, who were more than twice as numerous as the Germans in the Wartheland, the Nazis tried to apply the same Germanization program as in Pomorze, but were unable to do so on as large a scale. Only about 150,000 of the Poles in the Wartheland had been taken up to 1944 as suitable

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1/ The resident Polish population was probably smaller, due to the absence of many Poles who were working in the Reich, or living abroad as exiles, etc.

The population of the Reichsgau Wartheland in December 1939, before the major shifts in population had occurred, was 4,693,722, according to a count made by the German police. (Wirtschaft und Statistik, December 1940, p. 536.) The pre-war Polish population of the same area had been well over four million. About one million of these were deported to the General Government in the winter of 1939-40.

material for the Volksliste, i.e., for complete Germanization, service in the armed forces and, ultimately, full citizenship. The other 2,850,000 were treated as tolerated inhabitants only, that is, as so-called protected members (Schutzangehorige) of the Reich, and, although not forcibly Germanized, were required to use the German language in public and were allotted a very inferior status with regard to rations, civil privileges, and working conditions. However, those working in industry were given the opportunity of obtaining equality of rations and working conditions with German workers if they could show their ability and willingness to turn out as much work as the latter.

b. Lodz

Somewhat less than one-half of the wojewodztwo of Lodz, including the city of Lodz, was incorporated in the Reich in 1939 and fused with Poznan to form the Reichsgau Wartheland. The Nazis took this important region in order to straighten out the eastern boundary of the Reich between Upper Silesia and East Prussia and to incorporate within the Reich the large German population and extensive industry of the city of Lodz. This city, the textile-manufacturing center of Poland, had a population of more than 700,000 in 1939. In 1931 nearly 10 percent of its population (53,562 out of 604,600) were German-speaking, and thousands of others were Polonized Germans of the third or fourth generation. The cotton cloth industry here had been largely built up by German immigrants since the 1830's.

This section of Poland had never been under foreign rule prior to the partitions at the end of the eighteenth century, when it was seized by Prussia for a brief time. From 1815 until World War I it was ruled by Russia. During December 1914 it was conquered by the Germans, suffering considerable damage in the process as well as in the ensuing German occupation. Following 1918 it came back as an industrial center, and on the

eve of World War II it had some 3,500 textile mills employing about 150,000 workers and turning out an annual product valued at $200,000,000.

The city fell to the Nazis early in September 1939. War damage was slight, but the economy of the industrial area was temporarily ruined. Fitting Lodz into the Reich's war economy posed greater problems than did the similar task in Upper Silesia, since Lodz textiles required raw materials no longer obtainable.

A large part of the Lodz industry was dismantled or shut down and its stocks of raw materials were shipped into the Reich. The remaining plants were rationalized according to Nazi standards, converted to the use of substitute materials, transferred to the management of German industrialists, integrated as a subordinate cog in the controls of the German textile industry, and, after 1941, given a large part of occupied Poland as their market. A considerable part of their production, however, was for the armed forces.

The pre-war German community in Lodz, which was only partly Nazified before the war and included a Social Democratic element, was purged and co-ordinated in 1939-40 and was augmented by the influx of several thousand Nazi administrators and businessmen. The large Jewish population (202,497 persons in 1931) was not liquidated at first because it was needed as a labor force. The Nazis immediately put the Jews under ghetto restrictions and retained them mainly for use in the production of army uniforms and other war goods. Although many persons were steadily weeded out, the Jewish community in Lodz may still have numbered between fifty and one hundred thousand in 1944. The Germans, however, liquidated most of this remnant during the summer of 1944, and thus only a few were left when the Russians captured the city on 19 January 1945.

3. Upper Silesia

The Polish wojewodztwo of Silesia (Slask) is the central and richest part of a narrow but valuable industrial region covering adjoining areas in Poland, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. 1/ The effect of the Nazi conquest was to unify the region, with the result that the entire industrial area coincided with the Nazi Gau and Prussian province of Oberschlesien with its administrative seat in Katowice, the former capital. On the map this area formed a triangle mostly lying between the Oder and Vistula rivers and the Adolf Hitler (formerly Klodnitz) Canal, with its corners at Cosel, Moravska Ostrava, and Zawiercie. The basis of heavy industry is supplied by coal seams that are among the thickest in Europe, large zinc and lead deposits, and nearby deposits of iron ore. In spite of inherently poor coking qualities, Upper Silesian coal became the basis of a considerable steel industry in the late nineteenth century, and after 1939 the Germans perfected and introduced coking techniques which economically converted the local coal into coke as good as that of the Ruhr.

The entire region, with the exception of the Dąbrowa area, was politically under its own dukes in the Middle Ages and later

1/ The counties in which heavy industry predominates are the following:

Pre-war Poland:	(1) Wojewodztwo Slask:	Katowice (Kattowitz)
		Chorzow (Königshütte)
		Tarnowski Góry (Tarnowitz)
		Swietochłowice
		Pszczyna (Pless)
		Rybnik
	(2) Wojewodztwo Krakow:	Chrzanow (Krenau)
	(3) Wojewodztwo Kielce:	Zawiercie (Warthenau)
		Będzin (Bendsburg)
		Sosnowiec (Sosnowitz)
Pre-war Germany:	(4) Provinz Oberschlesien:	Gleiwitz (Gliwice)
		Beuthen (Bytom)
		Hindenburg (Zabrze)
		Cosel
Pre-war Czechoslovakia:		Tešin (Teschen)
		Morayska-Ostrava (Mährisch-Ostrau)

came under Austrian and Prussian rule. Hence the Polish-speaking population was cut off from the main centers of Polish culture and nationalism. The local dialect, called "Water Polish" by the Germans, differs noticeably from standard Polish. The initial exploitation of the coal and zinc resources which occurred chiefly in the eighteenth century was carried out by a small German ruling class. Five noblemen, the princes of Hohenlohe and Pless and the counts of Ballestrem, Donnersmarck, and Schaffgotsch, owned a large part of the surface over the richest deposits, and some of their heirs still own dominant interests in the Upper Silesian corporations bearing their names. The non-German peasant class furnished the reservoir of labor.

The Paris Peace Conference had difficulty in finding a formula for the awarding of Upper Silesia. France wished to weaken Germany by giving the entire area to Poland, but Lloyd George opposed this, and a plebiscite was held in 1921 which resulted in a vote of 707,000 to 479,000 in favor of Germany. However, the line of partition ultimately approved by the League of Nations was based not so much on this plebiscite as on a compromise between Britain and France. Poland received the eastern and richest part of the industrial district, including 76 percent of the coal deposits, 82 percent of the zinc deposits, and 97 percent of the iron ore, but excluding the large industrial cities of Beuthen, Hindenburg and Gleiwitz and the Cosel district. The industrial complex was thus riven, although by agreement between Poland and Germany the existing economic relations between the two sections were in part continued for a transitional period of fifteen years. The same agreement (the celebrated Geneva Convention of 15 May 1922), sponsored by the League of Nations, set up an apparatus for the protection of national minorities on either side of the boundary for the same period.

Poland added to this area the formerly Austrian district of Bielsko (Bielitz), with its important textile mills, and seventeen years later seized and added the Czechoslovak county of Tešin. These three areas, which together formed the wojewodztwo of Slask, became the industrial heart of the new Polish state. In keeping with a promise held out to the inhabitants of the area before the plebiscite, the Polish Government allowed more autonomy in Slask than in the other wojewodztwo, including a local parliament.

In Slask as constituted on the eve of the present war, a German minority of more than one hundred thousand lived, of whom nearly a third resided in or around Katowice. This German community, like the similar minorities in Poznan and Pomorze, was partly infiltrated by Nazism by the end of the 1930's, but it also included a considerable Social Democratic and a Jewish element. The total population of the wojewodztwo was somewnat more than 1,500,000, of whom some 1,275,000 were Polish.

The history of Slask during the period 1921-39 was marked mainly by the endeavor of the Polish state to secure capital for Silesian industry, to maintain its efficiency at the previous German level, and to find markets to replace the lost German market. Schneider-Creusot and other French, Belgian, British, and Italian interests invested heavily in the coal mines and steel mills, and financed the building of the direct railway from Katowice to Gdynia to promote the sale abroad of Polish coal. The state itself retained a majority interest in many of the key corporations. But the world situation was not favorable to the exporting of Upper Silesian products, and Poland's home market was inadequate. Consequently, Slask industry prospered only fitfully during the 1920's and even less during the 1930's.

Only rearmament orders prevented unemployment from becoming disastrous.

With its conquest by the Germans in September 1939, Slask was fused with German Upper Silesia. Hence the entire industrial region was now put to work as a unit for the Reich's war economy.1/ Coal output on what had been the Polish side of the frontier was raised by the Nazis to its practical limits, and the steel industry was converted almost entirely to armament production. The former Polish mines and mills were put in the hands of German trustees (Treuhänder) at first, and then gradually during 1941 and 1942 transferred to new German owners, such as the Hermann Göring combine and Preussag, or to the German interests which had controlled them prior to 1919, such as the Ballestrem concern. The German corporations thus enlarged were, at the same time, combined into a few large concerns which completely dominated the heavy industry of Upper Silesia. 2/ Industrial expansion undertaken here by the Nazis since 1939 was mainly along the line of new synthetic oil plants (in the Odertal-Heydebreck-Blechhammer triangle where the Adolf Hitler Canal joins the Oder at Cosel) and synthetic rubber and other chemical products of the I.G.Farben corporation (at Oswiecim), together with the building or expansion of large thermal power plants at these points. The former Polish state nitrogen works at Chorzow also played an important role in German war production.

Practically the entire non-German population was needed locally in Upper Silesian industry. Hence the Nazis deported far fewer Poles from Polish Upper Silesia than from Pomorze and Poznan. Only the ruling groups and intelligentsia,

1/ The adjoining Bohumin-Karwina-Trzyniec district had already been annexed from Czechoslovakia by Poland in 1938.
2/ The principal concerns were Berghuette (steel, steel products), Ballestrem (coal, steel, steel products), Göring (coal, coke), Preussag (coal, coke), Schaffgotsch (coal, coke, synthetic oil), Giesche (zinc) and Schlesag (zinc).

part of the one hundred twenty thousand Jews, and a few of the peasants (mainly from the Zywiec district), were deported to the General Government or liquidated. Colonization of German resettlers was likewise on a very small scale. Only some twelve thousand German peasants and artisans had been brought in by the end of 1941, and Nazi resettlement plans for the region did not go much beyond this figure during the war. The peasants (some ten thousand) and artisans (some two thousand) were brought back mainly from Galicia, Bukowina, and the Ukraine and were given farms or shops in the district of Zywiec. The Polish owners were dispossessed to make room for them, but because of the need for industrial workers they were permitted in many cases to remain in the locality. The confiscated properties, most of them very small, were thrown together in larger units to make better farms for the resettlers.

Several thousand German administrators and industrial personnel came into the formerly Polish part of Upper Silesia since 1939. In addition, the province received thousands of foreign laborers and prisoners of war. It consequently became one of the most congested areas in the Reich. Its pre-war population was slightly more than 4,000,000, including some 1,200,000 German-speaking inhabitants (of whom 115,000 lived on the Polish side of the frontier), 2,645,300 Polish-speaking (of whom 365,568 lived on the German side), and 120,927 Czech-speaking (living principally in the Teschen district). The resident population in 1941, which probably did not undergo any material change in numbers thereafter, was 4,341,084. 1/ Probably at least 1,500,000 of these were Germans by the test of language. To the remaining 2,800,000 non-Germans, mainly Poles, the Nazis applied the Germanization program, forcing some 1,500,000 to register in the Volksliste and calling up many of these for military service.

1/ Wirtschaft und Statistik, January 1941, p. 40.

4. Ciechanow, Suwalki, and Bialystok

The territories of Ciechanow, Suwalki, and Bialystok, largely rural and agricultural, suffered the least change through incorporation into the Reich.1/ Although the Nazis were said to be planning from a future German population of 750,000 in the district of Ciechanow, 2/ only a few thousand German resettlers took up farms there. From the district of Bialystok, all of the small minority of Racial German tradesmen and peasants were resettled in the Reich during the Soviet occupation of 1939-41. This region was reconquered in June 1941 and incorporated into the Reich and by 1942 some twenty thousand German administrators and businessmen re-entered it, 3/ but no resettlement of Racial German peasants occurred here. The same was true of Suwalki.

The city of Bialystok was exploited by the Nazis as a textile-manufacturing center. Otherwise the German administrative apparatus in Ciechanow, Suwalki, and Bialystok was principally concerned with the extraction of agricultural quotas from the non-German peasantry.

1/ Their areas and populations are as follows:

	Sq.km.	Population
Ciechanow (Regierungsbezirk Zichenau)	12,913	854,304
Suwalki (Kreis Sudauen)	2,840	116,635
Bialystok (Bezirk Bialystok)	31,140	1,500,000

(Wirtschaft und Statistik, December 1940, p. 536; Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 9 April 1943.)

2/ Kölnische Zeitung, 2 December 1942.

3/ Frankfurter Zeitung, 6 November 1942.

Appendix I. LEADING PERSONNEL OF THE STATE ADMINISTRATION

THE NSDAP

REICHSGAU WARTHELAND

A. State Administration at Poznan

Reich Governor (Reichsstatthalter): Arthur Greiser, Gauleiter

Reich Governor's Deputies

For State Administration: Regierungspräsident Jaeger

For Gau Self-Administration: Gauhauptmann SS Oberführer Robert Schulz

Reich Governor's Departments (Abteilungen)

1. General, Interior, and Finance: Oberfinanzpräsident Gebhard
2. Health and Social Welfare: Dr. Hess
3. Education, Cultural, and Community Affairs - Gauamtsleiter Dr. Sprenger, Gauwalter des NS Lehrerbundes
4. Agriculture, Colonization and Land Reform: Geginat
5. Economic Affairs
   a. General Economy: Weissker
   b. Labor: Ernst Kendzia, Reichstreuhänder der Arbeit
6. Forests: Oberlandesforstmeister Sommermeyer
7. Building: Schmidt
8. Waterways: Heiser
9. Surveys: Rössing

B. Police

Higher SS and Police Leader for Wehrkreis XXI (Reichsgau Wartheland): SS Gruppenführer und Generalleutnant der Polizei Reinefahrt.

Commander of the Order Police: Hans Podzun

Commander of the Protective Police at Poznan: Korff

Commander of the Protective Police at Lodz: Dressler

Inspector of the Security Police and Security Service: SS Standartenführer Geschke

Leader of the State Police Office

At Poznan: SS Obersturmbannführer Stossberg.

At Lodz: SS Sturmbannführer Bradfisch

At Inowroclaw: SS Sturmbannführer Hegenscheidt

Leader of the Criminal Police Office:

At Poznan: SS Sturmbannführer Krüger

At Lodz: SS Sturmbannführer Ehrlich

At Inowroclaw: SS Hauptsturmführer Linthe

Police President at Poznan: General der Polizei Montua

Police President at Lodz: SS Oberführer Stein

C. Economic Controls

Gau Economic Chamber: Präsident, Dr. Johannes Scholz

Economic Chamber of Lodz: Präsident, Dr. Carl Weber

Reich Food Estate: Landesbauernführer Dr. Kohnert

Gau Labor Office: Präsident, Ernst Kendzia

D. Party Offices

Gauleiter: Arthur Greiser, Reichsstatthalter

Deputy Gauleiter: Kurt Schmalz

Chief of the Gau Staff Office: Walther

Gau Propaganda Leader: Maul

Chief of the Gau Office for Racial Questions: Hoeppner

Gau Student Leader: Streit

Head of Hitler Youth: Obergebietsführer Werner Kuhnt

Head of League of German Girls: Gebietsmädelführerin Vohdin

Head of Reich Labor Service: Generalarbeitsführer Consilius

National Socialist Welfare Association: Gaubeauftragter Steinhilber

National Socialist Womens' Association: Gaufrauenschaftsleiterin Helga Throe

Gau Economic Adviser Paul Batzer

REICHSGAU DANZIG-WESTPREUSSEN

A. State Administration at Danzig

Reich Governor (Reichsstatthalter) Albert Forster, Gauleiter

Reich Governor's Deputies

For State Administration: Regierungspräsident : Huth

For Gau Self-Administration: Gauhauptmann Dr. Wiers-Keiser

Reich Governor's Departments (Abteilungen)

1. General and Interior: Stuntz

2. Health and Social Welfare - Gaugesundheitsführer Dr. Grossman

3. Educational, Cultural, and Community Affairs: Boeck

4. Agriculture, Colonization, and Land Reform: Landesbauernführer Rethel

5. Economic Affairs

a. Land Economic Office: Hildebrandt

b. Labor: Stummeier, Reichstreuhänder der Arbeit

6. Forests: Oberlandesforstmeister Nicolai

7. Building: Plagens

B. Police

Higher SS and Police Leader for Wehrkreis XX (Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen): SS Gruppenführer und Generalleutnant der Polizei Friedrich Katzmann

Commander of the Order Police: Oberstleutnant Papke

Inspector of the Security Police and Security Service: SS Brigadeführer und Generalmajor der Polizei Helmut Willich

Leader of the State Police Office

At Danzig: SS Sturmbannführer Dr. Venediger

At Bydgoszcz: SS Obersturmbannführer Rux

At Grudziadz: SS Sturmbannführer Thomsen

Leader of the Criminal Police

At Danzig: Hermann

At Bydgoszcz: Korda

At Grudziadz: SS Sturmbannführer Domke

Police President at Danzig: Oberst der Schutzpolizei Rottmann.

Police President at Gdynia: Dr. Quietensky

Police President at Bydgoszcz: SS Standartenführer Karl Otto von Salisch

Police Director at Grudziadz: SS Standartenführer Meyer

Police Director at Torun: SS-Standartenführer Graf

C. Economic Officer

Gau Economic Chamber: Günther Woermann, Präsident

Reich Food Estate: Landesbauernführer Rethel

Gau Labor Office: Stummeier, Präsident

D. Party Offices

Gauleiter: Albert Forster, Reichsstatthalter

Deputy Gauleiter: Seeger

Gau Propaganda Leader: Diewerge

Gau Training Leader: Wilhelm Loebsack

Gau Economic Adviser: Dr. Eugen Mohr

Gau Student Leader: Fuchs

Gau Head of the German Labor Front: Gauobmann Edwin Kamer

Gau Head of the Reich Labor Service: Generalarbeitsführer Heinrich Herzog

Gau Head of the Women's Labor Service: Gertrud Nonnenmacher

National Socialist Women's Association: Gaufrauenschafts-leiterin Balcerek

PROVINCE OF UPPER SILESIA, GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF KATOWICE

A. State Administration at Katowice

Provincial President (Oberpräsident): Fritz Bracht, Gauleiter

Deputy Provincial President: Dr. Faust

Provincial President's Departments

1. General: Dr. Bockmann

2. Schools: Dr. Otto Ulitz

3. Waterways: Unknown

4. Land Culture: Dr. Dietrich

5. Economic Affairs: Dr. Graf Von Matuschka

6. Medicine: Dr. Bethge

Provincial Food Office: Dr. Pietsch

Water Economy Office: Wittmer

Forestry Office: Oberlandesforstmeister Schulz-Brüggemann

Planning Authority: Ziegler

Housing and Colonization Office: Perret

District President of the Government District of Katowice: Springorum

B. Police

Higher SS and Police Leader for Wehrkreis VIII (Upper and Lower Silesia and parts of Reichsgau Sudetenland): SS Obergruppenführer und General der Polizei: Ernst Heinrich Schmauser

Inspector of Order Police: SS Brigadeführer und Generalmajor der Polizei Grussendorff

Inspector of Security Police and Security Service: SS Standartenführer und Oberst der Polizei Biermann

Leader of State Police Office

At Katowice: SS Obersturmbannführer Dr. Mildner

At Oppeln: SS Sturmbannführer Stübermann

Leader of the Criminal Police Office

At Katowice: SS Sturmbannführer Rausch

At Oppeln: Reiche

Police President at Katowice: SS Brigadeführer Dr. Ramsperger.

Police President at Sosnowiec: SS Oberführer Alexander von Woedtke

C. Economic Offices

Gau Economic Chamber: Dr. Berve, Präsident

Reich Food Estate: Landesbauernführer Herbert Elsner

Provincial Labor Office: Reichstreuhänder der Arbeit Dr. Ordemann

D. Party Offices

Gauleiter: Fritz Bracht, Oberpräsident

Deputy Gauleiter: Rudolf Metzner

Chief of the Gau Staff Office: Roden

Gau Head of the Reich Labor Front: Gauobmann Günther Poetzsch

Kreis Party Leader for Katowice: Haessler

Gau Propaganda Leader: Klar

Gau Head of the Hitler Youth: Huisgen

PROVINCE OF EAST PRUSSIA, GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF CIECHANOW AND COUNTY OF SUWALKI

Provincial President and Gauleiter: Erich Koch

Deputy Gauleiter and District President of Government District of Ciechanow: Dargel

District Vice President of Government District of Ciechanow: Rossbach

Deputy Vice President: Eichhardt

Government Director for Schools at Ciechanow: Habig

Government Director for Agriculture at Ciechanow: Bogdanski

Director of the District Planning Office: Von Auer

Director of the District Price Supervision Office: Thomzig

Head of the District Gendarmerie: Krause

Head of the Protective Police at Ciechanow: Barth

Head of the State Police at Plock: Pulmer

Head of the Criminal Police at Ciechanow: Schindler

County Councillors in the Government District of Ciechanow

County of Makow:	Steinmetz
County of Mlawa:	Funk
County of Pultusk:	Bottcher
County of Plonsk:	Moser
County of Przasnysz:	Wohlgemuth
County of Ostroleka:	Paltinat
County of Plock:	Dr. Fehr
County of Sierpc:	Wölk
County of Ciechanow:	Matthes
County Councillor of Suwalki:	Schmidtsdorff

DISTRICT OF BIALYSTOK

Chief of the Civil Administration: Erich Koch

Civil Commissioner at Bialystok: unknown

SS and Police Leader: SS Brigadeführer and Generalmajor der Polizei Otto Hellwig

Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service: Dr. Zimmermann

Head of the State Police, at Bialystok: Friedrich

Head of the Criminal Police, at Bialystok: Krebs

Mayor of Bialystok - Bludau

NSDAP County Leaders

County of Bialystok: Tresp

County of Grodno: Bochum

County of Grajewo: Knispel

County of Lomza: Paltinat

County of Bielsko: Tubenthal

Counties of Sokolka and Wolkowysk: Seiler

Appendix II. COURTS AND COURT DISTRICTS

A. Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen

Oberlandesgericht Danzig (Präsident: Wohler).

Landgericht Bydgoszcz
Landgericht Danzig
Landgericht Grudziadz
Landgericht Chojnice
Landgericht Torun

B. Reichsgau Wartheland

Oberlandesgericht Poznan (Präsident: Froböss)

Landgericht Gniezno
Landgericht Inowroclaw
Landgericht Kalisz
Landgericht Wloclawek
Landgericht Leszno
Landgericht Lodz
Landgericht Ostrow
Landgericht Poznan

C. Polish Territories Incorporated in the Province of East Prussia

Oberlandesgericht Königsberg (Präsident: Dr. Daeger)

Landgericht Ciechanow
Landgericht Allenstein (for part of the County of Dzialdowo)
Landgericht Lyck (for the County of Suwalki)

D. District of Bialystok

(Under the Oberlandesgericht Königsberg)
Landgericht Bialystok

E. Polish Territories Incorporated in the Province of Upper Silesia

Oberlandesgericht Katowice (Präsident: Dr. Block)

Landgericht Beuthen-Katowice
Landgericht Bielsko
Landgericht Gleiwitz
Landgericht Raciborz
Landgericht Cieszyn
Landgericht Oppeln

Appendix III. LEADING DAILY NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN THE INCORPORATED POLISH TERRITORIES AND IN DANZIG DURING THE OCCUPATION

Danzig:	Danziger Vorposten
	Danziger Neueste Nachrichten
Grudziadz:	Der Gesellige
Bydgoszcz:	Deutsche Rundschau
Torun:	Thorner Freiheit
Ciechanow:	Deutsche Ostwacht
Poznan	Ostdeutscher Beobachter
Lodz:	Litzmannstädter Zeitung
Inowroclaw:	Hohensalzaer Zeitung
Katowice:	Oberschlesische Zeitung
Krolewska Huta:	Königshütter Zeitung